

6 after August 1711

REASONS *Polit. Pamphlet* WHY A *vol 79.* PARTY

Among us, and also among the
CONFEDERATES,

Are obstinately bent against a
Treaty of Peace with the
French at this time.

By the Author of the *Reasons* for putting
an end to this *Expensive War*.

*But the Unbelieving Jews stirred up the Gentiles,
and made their Minds evil affected: And the
Multitude of the City was divided. Acts xiv
Vers. 2. 4.*

The Second Edition.

Printed for JOHN BAKER, at the Black-Box
in *Pater-Noster-Row*, 1711. Pr. 6d.

REASON'S PARTY

Among us, and also among the

CONFEDERATES

Are continually bent against
 the Union of Peace with the
 South as it stands.



The Union of Peace with the
 South as it stands.

For the Union of Peace with the
 South as it stands.

The Second Edition

Printed for JOHN BARR, at the Press
 in Pall Mall, 1711.

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*Reasons why a Party among us,
and among the Confederates,
are obstinately bent against a
Treaty of Peace with the
French, at this time, &c.*

THE Opposition which is made, as well abroad as here at home, to the accepting Propositions of Peace, and an offer'd Treaty for putting an end to this Expensive War, appears to considering and unprejudiced Men strange, and to such who have not been acquainted with the Councils that act the People of this Day, wonderful. The Reasons which some rather seem to relate than acknowledge to be their own, are specious; and much endeavour is used to have them be esteemed Popular. Many ends this would serve; yet none more than this; To conceal, by these counterfeit Reasons, the true Grounds whereupon those People build, or proceed, who stand up against making peace with the *French*. To re-

count to your Ears the many pretended Reasons, is a Work needless, and, in some degree, impossible: The First, because they are in every Mouth, and by every Ear, even to Weariness, heard among the Commons: The Last, because they vary, even to an infinite Distinction, in relating: But they are in these few General Heads summ'd up.

That the Confederated Powers do not assent; and without such Assent, no Treaty is to be enter'd upon, the contrary being stipulated by the Grand Alliance.

That the Propositions are not full, or, for the forming a Treaty, sufficient, as not being grounded upon Points essentially necessary to a Lasting Peace.

That it is agreed by the Confederated Heads of the War, to have Preliminary Articles first by *France* agreed to, and that such are already on foot; which they must not, without good reason, go from.

That they cannot have a good Peace; and that no Peace can be to the Confederates Safe, or Honourable, except the *Spanish* Monarchy, which is the Goal they run for, be to the said Confederated Powers fully given and surrender'd.

In

In these and such as these, all the pretended Reasons and alledged Scruples, which fill the Mouths of the Vulgar People are Comprehended: The Thoughts of the Commons cannot be otherwise, than upon such an Occasion as this much agitated; Peace, after so long and so pinching War, being like Food to the Stomach after long Abstinence, and the sound of it must be to the Ear of the meanest very grateful. The first Accounts they received of People being sent from *France*, Commissioned to offer Terms of Accomodation to our Government; made on the Inclinations of the Commons therefore no small Impression. Howbeit, proportion'd to this was the Surprise, which discovered it self among them, when they found that others were not equally affected; That the rest of the People, did not receive with the same Joy the first Accounts of approaching Peace, seeing they well knew their want of Peace, and their Desire of it to be before that, the same. Wherefore, it seem'd more than Natural to make this Enquiry one of another. Why are you not for the Peace? For what dislike in the Peace so much spoken of, is it that you do not receive it with as much Satisfaction as I do? Upon this Enquiry when the Respondents make long Speeches, and one Enveighs with Bitterness against the Conditions; saying, they are Deficient: Another vehemently Exclaimeth against the manner

ner of Treating, saying it is Clandestine, and without our Allies concerting and approving; another not unlike the Accuser of the Brethren, bringeth a railing Accusation against the Publick People, who are by the Queen intrusted, saying they will Betray us to the *French*, and take Bribes of *French* Money, when these go on Exclaimant, Insisting upon the Resolutions of the *British* Parliament, the Opinion of the Queen, the concerted Meetings of the Confederate Ministers of State in Foreign Congress, all Concurrent in and Approving the late Preliminaries Debated at *Ghertruydenburgh*. What can be expected, but that the Heads of the Commons thus prepossess'd, should presently fall in with those most popular Complaints, and all with one Voice, Cry out against all these Proposals of Peace with *France*, as things that are Unsafe, Dishonourable, unfairly Received, unsincerely Proposed, and *such like*. From hence it is Evident already, that even the Mouths of the Poor and Ignorant Plough-men and Servants in the Countries most remote, are filled with such Speeches as these, which are thro' all Parts of the Nation with much Art, and no small Application spread abroad, that it is many Pities, after we have Fought so long we should give it over, till we had brought the *French* to our Beck. That now we had spent so much Money

Money, sure we might spend a little more to obtain a good Peace; that One Brush or Two more would do the Work, and if after all this, we let the *French* run away with *Spain*, what have we been Fighting for so long? and such as these.

That these Arguments are Popular, and to the Understanding of the Poor Commons well suited must be confess'd; as also, that thereby the Enemies and Opposers of the Publick Treaty of Peace, gain too much Ground among the People; insomuch, that the Noise of those who Exclaim against a Peace, is heard loudly where it might have been hop'd, the People should have been preserved from such Delusions; high Time it is therefore to unkennel this Fox, and to strip off from the Back of this Wolf the Sheep's Clothing, with which he has to Delude the Nation, and its Inhabitants too long gone Disguised; letting the poor abused People know that these specious Pretences, are but the meer Varnish and Outside, put on, like the Apothecary's Leaf Gold, to cover and make shining to the Eye the Bitter Pill which is inclosed within, and that in Truth and in Reality, the true Reasons for the Opposition which appears against Peace, and against Treating thereof with the Enemy, at this Time, arise from other Causes, and are to other Ends and Purposes owing. That true it is, they
Complain

complain of the Conditions, and of the People, and of the manner of the proposed Treaty; but that in verity they have secret and reserved Designs to carry on, for the upholding of Parties, and for the forming Interests, and obtaining the private Interests and Advantages of their Friends in the Publick: For the better bringing whereof to pass, they hold it not convenient to suffer any Treaty to be set on foot, or with the *French* enter'd into at all, unless their Party and Friends are let into the Publick Handling of Affairs, and the Ministration be to them again, as before, committed.

This being the General Head of the present Argument, it shall not be thought unnecessary at this time, and even before the aforesaid Delusions take in the Heads of the People too deep rooting, to make some essays towards their undeceiving, and for the removing these unjust Conclusions, which are drawn from Premises so false and ill-grounded. To the more direct performing this Work, it may be useful to lay down, for the help of the vulgar Understandings, something Historical concerning the Persons, and also of the Principles of those who are so openly and avowedly our Peace-Op-
posers, that, upon due Inquiry, the Reasons why they do thus oppose may appear more Natural and Genuine, and we may not censure them undeserved.

It may be known then, in order to clear up this Matter, (1) That the Opposers of the proposed Treaty of Peace, and the Opposers of the Late Alterations or Changes at Court, are the same People. This is, in the vulgar way of expressing it, thus described, That the Adherents to, and Advocates for the Late Ministry, are all against, and the Adherents to, and Defenders of this New Ministry, are for the Peace. This may give some light into the Case, upon an impartial Inquiry into the future Conduct of those People on either side, and from what Principles they may be said to act in the Publick Concerns of the Nation. It should seem, at the First Remove which the Queen made in the Ministration of her Government, that the People had great cause to be dissatisfy'd : And the Fears and Apprehensions which agitated the Commons, were enforced by the Assurances some gave them, that all those who Her Majesty had dismiss'd were Patriots of their Country's Liberties ; Defenders of their best Interest, who understood well the true Interests of *Europe*, and were in the Preservation thereof, above all others at that time, the most faithful. The Success they had carry'd on the War with beyond what had been in former Days, was to the said Commons most grateful, in their Remembrance most fresh and frequent, and to the meanest Understand-

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ings most conspicuous: The Common People were bid to remember the frequent Occasions they had given to them of Bonfires and Publick Rejoicings for Victories over the Common Enemy; the Processions for Thansgiving to Saint *Paul's* Cathedral; the Firing of Guns, and Illuminations, were fresh in their Remembrance: They were sent to the *Guild-hall* of the City, and to the Great Hall at *Westminster*, to see the Trophies of *Blenheim* and *Ramellies*; and the Colours and Standards there, were as so many Motives to them to resent the Treatment the General received, who had gain'd those Victories, at the Oration of *Octavius* to the People, reciting the many Victories of *Julius Caesar*, were to excite the People of *Rome* to resent his Death, and to revenge it upon *Brutus* and *Cassius*, who had murthered him in the Senate-house. These Popular Notions were to the Common People most affecting; and it seem'd very ingrate to the Merit of those, from whom their Country had received such Obligations, to have them brought into the utmost Disgrace, and yet no Capital Offence be laid to their charge, or any of them brought to judgment for the same.

Such Speeches as these being spread among the Commons, gave great Disgusts to those who had any respect for the Old Ministers; filling them with great Apprehensions

hensions of what was in the Design of those, who had wrought the Disgrace of those Men of whose Desert the Country had till then so good an opinion. But these Complaints became much more Popular also, when, to the Amusement aforesaid, was added, That all the Persons newly to Honours and High Trusts promoted, were Enemies of their Country, and in the Interest of the Pretender to the Crown; that the Queen was so far imposed upon, as to promote her worst Enemies, and to put her self and her Government into the hands of those who would give her up to *France*; that the Trusts of greatest moment were committed to those, who had all along given tokens of their Enmity to the Constituted Government, and to many, who, till then, had not so much as taken the oaths that the Laws had (of all the Publick Ministers especially) required.

That the Queen was, in those Councils advising to this, certainly betray'd; and that all things tended to a manifest Revolution in favour of the Enemy: For proof of this they brought the several Instances of the Enemies taking fresh courage at the National Divisions which were among us.

By these Complaining it may not be wonder'd at, if they engaged a great part of the Commons in their Party, and that these things, being so specious, were received at first with great Uneasinesses and Dis-

contents among the People, which Discontents in several Consequences appear'd, and threatned the Publick with something Fatal, and which some gather'd new Hopes from; as the Decay and Ruin of the Publick Credit in especial Manner, as what they expected must bring the said New Men into Labyrinths and Difficulties inextricable; whose End would by necessity be the restoring of displac'd Favourites, and casting out again the New, as Persons incapable of answering the great Expectations which were placed in them.

These things for some time, appear'd even to the New Managers and their Friends very formidable, and they were not without their Apprehensions of the Effect thereof; the Publick Credit was decay'd, and the Men who had amassed vast Sums by Usury, and by Anticipations of Money on the Publick Revenues, were most of them Sowred and grown Malecontents, being joined to the complaining Party aforesaid. They were made to believe, that the Publick Funds for Security of Payment were not to them a sufficient Security; that the Views they had of the Instability of the Government, were to the preserving their Money so many Warnings, and that the Party who were come in, were such as had not the same Sacred Regard to the Publick Faith as before, and such like. By these Suggestions,

Suggestions, they not only refused to advance the usual Sums, which they were used to Lend upon the Publick Security, but kept back others, who by their Example grew likewise Timorous and Cautious, nor did they stick to depretiate and run down the Value, even of Moneies already Lent, and Securities already taken, notwithstanding those Securities and Loans being their own, they were not the least who in the fall of the Value suffered Loss.

These were the Occasions, which formed a considerable Party of Malecontents in the Nation, upon the first Alterations made in the Face of the Publick Affairs as aforesaid. True it is, That many People as Time and Experience served to open their Eyes became better informed, and when after a little Proof of the Injustice of their Fears, when they found the New Ministers did not proceed upon such Measures as were before Suggested, that they did nothing which Carried any appearance of altering the Constitution, or bringing in the *Pretender*, but that they went on by the usual Course and Method of the Administration: That the Parliament had the Reins of the Peoples Rights in their Hands as before; that Money was raised by usual Methods, old Funds kept secure, and Payment of Interests preserved Sacred, and that this Devil was not so
Black

Black as he had been Painted. The People began to return to their former Temper, Confidence in the Government, and Satisfaction in Publick Security began again to take Place, and the Publick Credit made some Shew of returning to its usual Course, many People who had by the former Methods of the Party above-said been Deluded and Imposed upon, grew Sensible thereof, and appearing so, lessened the Interest of that Party by whom they had been Misguided. Thus in Process of Time, the New Ministry began to be Established and in the Minds of the Commons, who had as before been Prejudiced against them to be restored. This also encreased, and upon the laying New Taxes for Funds of Interest or Loan, even the very People, who had Exclaimed as before-said, against the Lending Money, as the way to Establish the New Party, and had pretended to withhold their Assistance, as the only Way to render abortive all the Undertakings of the New Ministry; yet whether sensible of their being unable so to Stop or Interrupt the Ministry, or of the Safety of the Publick affairs better Convinc'd, notwithstanding all former pretended Backwardness, came in with their Money, and advanc'd the same to the Assistance, even of those who they had so resolved to Weaken and Displace.

During

During some Months that this held, the Party who were at first raised by the publick Discontents, declin'd, many Convinc'd as above, forsook them, and in their own Opinions inlightned, acted with the New Men upon just Principles, believing they ought to do so while no Measures Destructive of the Common Interest of their Country appear'd.

Howbeit, the other retain'd a Party, tho' not as before Numerous, and for their Concern in the Publick Considerable, yet equally, and perhaps more than before Clamorous and Uneasy; as their Numbers by the Conviction abovesaid, decreased, their Animosity lessen'd not, but they rather became in their Prosecution of their Party, and the pursuit of the Designs to Establish their Interest more firm, possibly it may be said, they were in their Consultations more close, which nevertheless was not very much seen by the Effect, their Zeal to carry on their private Feud appear'd Violent, their Temper in every part they had to act, furious; and they could not speak of the New Ministry or Management without manifest Discoveries of Impatience and want of Temper, at their want of Power; by their Warmth supplying the Fervour of their Party, and as their Party abated, that warmth encreasing, this way growing equally Dangerous, if not
more

more so than when the Commons appear'd more in their Interest.

The first visible Appearance of the new conceived Party, was in the Affair of the *South Sea Trade*, wherein they at first had furnished some popular Objections, which serv'd to Fortify their Party in the Aversions before entertain'd by them to the said Trade, but at the same time, with Care contriving to have all the Complaints at the Circumstances or Progress of that Trade, Center in their Complaints of the Persons of the Ministry.

For some time, they imploy'd their Writers as well as Tongues, in forming infinite Objections against the feasibility, the Nature, the Advantages of the Undertaking; sometimes against the Reason, the Justice, and the Season of going about it in the Terms of the Proposal; in this they exceeded Decency it self, and that Wit might have some Share in their Party Divisions, Lampoons, and Ballads, filled their Societies, turning the whole Arguments on the Undertaker's Side, and on the Government's Side into jest; Ridiculing not the Queen her self Only, but all her Ministry and Servants, sparing or shewing Respect to none, and which was yet Worse, the endeavour of Sarcasm empty and unsounding, had enough of Spleen Harsh and Crude, but of Wit

Wit and Satyr, or any thing keen and pointed empty, and entirely void as *Chaos* or *Vacuum* it self.

This not succeeding according to Wish, the Fever of the Nation seem'd to intermit; the Ministry Patient and Silent, yet went on; the *South Sea* Design they steadily adhered to, and persued, opening Books and receiving the Subscriptions of those who came Voluntarily to Sign the same, as the Act of Parliament directed.

But this very Part furnish'd to a popular Flame much new Fuel, and gave to this secret Party a new Handle, or Ground for Objection, *that is to say*; The Act of Parliament having appointed Funds for Payment of Interest, to all those who had any Claim or Debt upon the Victualling, Navy, Ordinance, Transport, Sea Service, and other Debts which were as the Effect of the late Changes in the Ministry, left in no Course of Payment, or at least had no Parliamentary Security, or other Fund, than that of Publick Faith; ordain'd all those People Claiming a Debt, should have their Share of this Fund, and should be in a Society, or Common Stock Incorporate, having as the consideration of that Provision, or Fund for the said Debt, this Burthen if so call'd, (*viz.*) That they should be obliged to Contribute Ten *per Cent.* if so much should be wanted

to carry on a New Trade, projected to the *Spanish* Dominions in *America*, pursuant to the Seventh Article of the Late Grand Alliance, which for encouraging the *English* and *Dutch*, gives them leave to seize upon any Part they thought well of, to plant on in *America*, and the same to keep for their own: And to this Society Incorporate, Exclusive Articles, in the nature of Privileges, are annexed, to encourage their aforesaid Subscription and Contribution of *Ten per Cent.*

The Party of whom these Sheets were before treating, coming to inquire into the Nature of this Adventure, find out, what some say, is not there to be found (*viz.*) That there is a Breach upon the great Foundation which they call the Liberty of the Subject, in that the Law of Subscription is a Force upon those who shall Subscribe against their Will or Consent, to put in their Estates, tho' Unsatisfy'd of, and some perhaps Ignorant in the Nature and Reason, Security or Success. Against this they go on exclaiming, and while they Impose upon the easy Temper of the Commons, by the specious Colour of Liberty, that Whore of the Vulgar, they gain much ground upon the New Ministry, and bring the *South Sea* Undertaking into great Contempt.

It added much to this Disadvantage, that those Seamen, whose Debt on the *Navy* for Service in Her Majesty's Fleet, was not
great

great only, but divided in small Sums among a great Crowd, innumerable, of the Common Sailors. These, when they were told that they must subscribe the same to the *South Sea* Adventure, raised a great Dust among the poorer sort of People, to whom the said Seamen, for Cloth, Necessaries, or Extravagance, had made over those Tickets, and also among the Seamen themselves, as they came to demand their Pay. Nor did the vigilant Party omit these Advantages, but in the behalf of those above, and perhaps of many who were not uneasy themselves, complaining, they raised a new and unusual Clamour, against a thing, whose only Disaster at that time was, that the Commons did not understand it.

Here is to be noted, and what is said above thereby confirming, that many of those who were loudest in these daily Complaints against the Equity and Justice of the said Incorporation, were either of such who had no interest in the said Debts and Demands to intitle them to subscribe, or who having Debts, had actually accepted the said Condition; and choosing to subscribe, rather than to sell to those that wou'd Buy at the Common Discount, had made that Subscription their Choice, and thereby their own Objection annulling, had made their future Complaints most eminently unrighteous, and to the Government injurious.

This proves the abovesaid Charge to be justly laid as alledg'd (*viz.*) That these People acted another part than what they appear'd to profess, a different Face sitting on their real Actions, from what they suffer'd to be understood by their Speech, by their real Proceedings, and Management of their Private Affairs, approving what by their common Discourse they exclaimed at, condemning and complaining, putting by plain Choice, their Stocks, and Estates, into that same Adventure, which they stirred up others vehemently to load with the Epithets of Unjust, Barbarous, Illegal, and Contrary to the Rights of the Constitution.

Further than this it appeared, That not only these very Men, Complainers, and Mal-content at the Subscription and Adventure, subscribed by Choice as aforesaid, their own Stocks, or Debts, which they might have sold at the usual Discount. But many of them, at that same time that they went daily with open Mouths exclaimant about the Streets against the Government and Ministry, as oppressing the People; the Liberty of the Subject thereby, as they alledged, being invaded; improper Persons, unacquainted with Trade, and unable to spare their Stocks, being with Violence forc'd to subscribe. The same Persons, and at the same time, having no Debts, as aforesaid, to subscribe, yet openly

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ly and avowedly laid out Money, in buying the Stocks and Debts of others to subscribe, thereby signing a Testimony or Certification against themselves, that they not only acknowledg'd both the Justice *of*, and visible Probability of Success *in* the Undertaking, but also owning, and for themselves confessing, that in all their Exclamations as aforesaid, they carry'd on some concealed Design, and had some Ends to bring about, other than such as meerly concern'd the *South Sea Trade*.

That these Ends are the same, and with what is already hinted at, exactly concurring (*viz.*) Supplanting the New Ministry and Management, and obliging her Majesty to shift hands again by the Necessity of her Affairs, that such as were in their view might appear the only fitted Persons, and able to support the Weight of the Publick Affairs, and that the Queen finding no Safety in any New Measures, might be brought back where she set out, and the Late Hands dismiss'd, themselves be by Consequence, and the Course of things restored.

Come we next to the Great Depending Affair, *THE PEACE*, in which the same Farce or Tragedy, rather by the same Party and their Dependants, comes upon the Stage of the Publick. Some Paradoxes appear in the Conduct of these Wise Heads, which duely and with Caution examined, may

may be unriddled, being compar'd with their other side Actions, they seem, and indeed more than seem, inextricable; but when brought to the Secret History of their Party meaning, and try'd by the Touch-stone of the Times, the Tincture appears, and the Metal discovers it self.

That this great State Paradox may therefore be unfolded, and the Difficulties about Peace which at first View, seem to be so Dark, may be made Easy: Let us fold over a few more Leaves of their History, there it may possibly be seen, why some People are against Peace now; tho' upon like, or better Terms and Articles than they would have condescended to before, Why do they run furiously Exclaiming against those who are putting an End to the Peoples Troubles? Why boast of the Wealth of the Nation, and the good Estate we are in to carry on the War? When with the same Voice, they put forth themselves to the uttermost of their Power, to blast and overwhelm that Publick Credit, which they acknowledge has been the only hitherto supporting Cause of Carrying the War on: And without which, when the Helm was in their own Hands, they always thought it reasonable to acknowledge, they must have been long before obliged to put the best End to it they could?

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The Pretences for the further Carrying on the War, had been very specious and plausible, and the Common People would have been more easily seduced, had not the Nakedness appear'd under this so Deficient covering: The Sound of Peace, was not to the People so agreeable and desirable; but the Epethets of Good, Safe, Lasting, Honourable, were always wanting to make the Harmony, to make the Words Sonorous, and to please the Ears; and it was no difficult thing to affect the Minds of the Commons with the Notion of being Betray'd by a Party, of Designs set on Foot to give us up to the Enemy; of *French* Money among our publick Ministers, Bribing and Working to Sell their Country, and give up to *France* the Fruits of so many Years Fighting. The Vulgar Heads are always found Easy to be made Jealous, and deeper Impressions are made there by complaining of, than praising their Governours, the Minds of the Common People are a Train of Wildfire, which touch'd but at one Angle, instantly takes Fire, and the Flame runs to the extreamest Parts. If then the People were at first in this Part also amused and rendered uneasy, telling them the Victors were to beg Peace of the Vanquished, that the *French* who by so many plain Confessions acknowledg'd they could

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not Carry on the War, were on a sudden turn'd Able, and the Confederates utterly Disabled. That as before we imposed Terms upon them, so now they were to impose Terms on us, and such like; if these things did for some Time leave the Heads of the Commons, amused, wondering, and prepossess'd, there is no room to think strange, it may rather be thought strange those Amusements had no worse Effects among the People, between Dislike and Jealousy, fluctuating uneasy Malecontent, and by Nature apt to Extremes.

But the same People who Sowed these Seeds of Jealousy, immediately Dug them up again with their own Hands, giving them no time to take Root downward, much less to bear Fruit upward, and this by exposing in other Parts of their Conduct, the Disguise with which they had Acted in this, and whereas they had used no small Art in the first Part, they seem'd to leave themselves so open here, that it Discovered the inner parts on both Sides, for it was no less Evident to the Common People, that these Men Acted on another Foot than their Discourses pointed out, than it was, that their Discourses aim'd at something, which their Words did not Express.

This

This is more perfectly Explain'd to the Common Understanding, easy, and open, if it be consider'd, how these People acted, and how they talk'd, at the same time enquiring also from both, how both Corresponded with their Intentions.

They first valued themselves, when in the Management of Affairs, for their Conduct in raising the Publick Credit, without which, it had been impossible (as they said) to carry on the War; But now we find them telling the Common People the War must be Carry'd on, that it is easy to be Carry'd on, and that no Peace needs to be made on that Score, although, the Publick Credit is Sunk and in a manner Destroy'd.

This is One of the Paradoxes, which having been insinuated, and to the Heads of the ordinary Capacities, Inculcated, has made the poor Common People talk such Nonsense, that has at last Confounded them, and they sit now in their usual Clubs and Meetings, Stupify'd and Amaz'd, and cannot say a Word, till they go back to their Instructors to inform them how this Riddle is to be Expounded; If you ask of them how they think the Ministry now should carry on the War without Funds for Credit? They say well enough: If you ask them how the last Ministry Carry'd on the War? They answer by Funds and Credit. If you ask them how the Late Ministry excell'd?

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They answer by raising up the Credit. If you ask them what Merit they pretend to on that Account? They answer because it was impossible to proceed, or without it to Carry on the War at all. Yet if you ask them about Peace now; they answer the War must be carry'd on; if you tell them Credit is Sunk and Destroy'd; they answer, that is no matter, the War must go on. These things Inconsistent, Jarring, and Discording, are the Substance of their present Discourses; and the Common People appear therewith so shock'd and stumbl'd, that they Hesitate, Stammer, and Falter in their Communications, and look upon one another Blushing for their Instructors, and sometimes not a little Enraged, that they have put their Arguments no better together.

Nor do these things stop here; but as one Mistake leads Men to commit another, so the discovering one Fraud, prompts the People to seek for more; the People as above, when they are full of the Merit of the former Ministry, running on in their Praises and flourishing their Encomiums; what is the Sum of the great Characters they give them? but that they Carried on the War with so much Ease to the Common People, that they raised the Nation's Credit, that they settled good Funds, and such like? These we all allowed to be Deserving,

ving, and we gave them due Praises therefore. The Tables being turn'd, we find these very Persons on one Hand depretiating the Men, that are come now into the Publick Ministry, for want of the Publick Credit; on the other Hand depretiating the Credit, to Disable and Confound the Men: If you talked with them in the City, they were always Exclaiming against advancing Money to the Publick, using Arguments with every one they could Influence, persuading and engaging against Lending any Money on Publick Credit: As far as in them lay, disabling and rendering it impossible to the Ministry to carry on the Publick Affairs at all; and if you talked with them at the Court, they were as forward upon the Ministry, reflecting on their Incapacity to support the Credit, their vain attempts to Borrow, tho' on the best Securities, Deriding and Bantering: The same Persons who on one Hand Ridiculed the Government for want of Credit, were the Men who endeavoured to Sink the said Credit. These things first rendred them suspected, and our People stood at first a little agast by their own Fears allarm'd, and by these Actions of the Party amaz'd; but it soon to all their Senses appeared, That the Plot was against the Persons of the Ministry, that the Credit was made the Nose of Wax, and was to receive such Impressions as they were pleased

pleased to Stamp upon it ; and that all the running down of Credit, was a Contrivance to load the New Ministry with a Brand of Impotence, that they could not Support the Publick Credit.

This opened the Eyes of the Vulgar People immediately, and it began most naturally to occur to the Minds of some, when on such a fast and loose Carriage of a Party, they began to consider and reflect, that it could not be unjust to remind them how on the Occasion of the late Dangers in *North Britain* ; whenas some People made but a demand upon the *Bank of England* for their own Money, it was call'd a Villanous Design, a Plot against the Government, a Design to Ruin the Nation, to make a Run as they call'd it upon the Bank other Demands, and other People receiving some Allarm, and being incited thereby to come also upon the Bank. This received the odious Name, then, of a Design in favour of the *Pretender*, and was carry'd that length that it was brought before the House of Commons, who Voted it a malicious Design to Ruin the Publick Credit and bring the Bank into Disreputation ; and in what was the Guilt of all this included ? tho' some say a Royal Bank ought always to be able to pay out all their Current Bills. which are supposed to be running Cash ; all this must be, and really was on a Supposition of the publick

Publick Business being to and with the National Credit so blended and united, that without the Support of the Credit, the other could not be supported, or the War be in any possible manner carry'd forward.

The Remembrance of this makes those who have knowledge of that Affair, exceedingly admire how it can be possible that those Men, who brought in the Publick Credit as a thing on which all was depending, and who us'd Sir *Richard H-e* so ill, for making a large demand of his own, as is said above, should on the late Changes fall all in upon the Publick Credit, in favour of the Party which was then falling, as if what they had before in that Gentleman censur'd and condemn'd as Villainous and Malicious, was yet fair and justifiable in themselves; and suggesting that the same thing which was a Plot in behalf of the Pretender on one hand, was no Plot in behalf of the Pretender on the other hand.

This was another of the Paradoxes of the Party; and as the Commons were easily persuaded to fall in with censuring those before who attempted the Publick Credit's Ruin and Destruction, as a Means to facilitate the Invasion of the Pretender, so very hard it was to persuade the People that the same thing practis'd now, was not done to facilitate some Design equally evil, if not the same: Nor was it, from this very Case, so unjust a Charge,

Charge, to say that some People were in a Design to bring in the Pretender, when it was apparent they were in a Design to ruin the Publick Credit, by which only (themselves confessing) the Pretender was to be kept out.

It hath been answered in bar of this Plea, or by Demurrer, rather That they did nothing to run down the Publick Credit : That it is true they did resolve not to lend their own Money ; but this Money was their own, and they having a property therein, ought not to be questioned in what manner they disposed of the same ; and none can reflect upon them for being unwilling to venture their own Money with a Management erected on their Ruin, and which was then over them and their Friends insulting and triumphing, and which it was not for their safety to encourage or support : That to lend them Money was to establish them in their New Station, which they had Lawful Reasons to wish they might not hold, as well for their own sakes, as also for their Country's sake, whose Interest they were not convinced the other had at heart. But it is retorted upon them, that likewise Sir Richard H...e and Sir Fra... Ch...d made no demand upon the Bank of England but what was just, and was a Demand of their own ; but that being timed as it was, and they taxed with having encouraged others to do so, and with buying up

up Notes, &c. to make the said Demand Great, that it might be Popular, and bring a run upon Credit; in the Design it was criminal, notwithstanding it might be in the Letter of it fair; as it was done when an Enemy was upon the Coast, invading the Queen, and as it was done with a Design to increase the Fears of the People, that the Credit might be ruin'd, and the Ministry disabled from opposing the Pretender. In like manner, the not only refusing to advance Money on Parliament Funds, but the discouraging others to do the same, by giving out Suspicions, letting fall jealous Speeches, and spreading false Fears and misgrounded Apprehensions of the Publick, was an open Endeavour, as far as in them lay, to ruin the Publick Credit, in order to disable the Ministry from managing the Publick Affairs, or carrying on the War.

But this was not all; another Paradox yet remain'd, which render'd this Behaviour obnoxious to the just Censures of the Common People; which was, That these individual People, who made this open attempt upon the Credit by which the War was carry'd on, are now the chief Source nay the only Persons, who oppose the accepting Proposals of Peace. Nor have their various Proceedings in both been the least means to open the Eyes of the Commons, who were prepossess'd by their Notions, as

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is said above, whether respecting the Credit, or the Insufficiency of the Terms of Peace; for when the People found that the same People who were in the Argument for carrying on the War entirely sanguine; were, in the Affairs of Loan, all Phlegm: That on one side they exclaimed against the receiving Proposals of Peace, yet, on the other hand, did their utmost to make carrying on the War impracticable: That here they were for bidding us fight, and there for discouraging us, and binding our Hands. What could such Paradoxes mean, but that they resolv'd to deliver us bound Hand and Foot, and, like *Dalilah*, first cut off the inspired Locks of Hair, in which our Strength was lodg'd, and then let in the *Philistines* to destroy us.

Some indeed inclin'd to judging favourably, and forbearing to carry on the Consequence of such a Design so far, alledging, That it was only to force the present Ministry into a Labyrinth; that being on one hand, driven to reject all Terms of Accomodation, and by the other entirely for all possible Defence disabled and pinion'd, they should be obliged to give up the Administration; or rather the Government finding them for the Conduct of the Publick Affairs insufficient, and their Interest in the Nation, weak and impotent, should, for the Preservation of the whole, be obliged to
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dismiss them, which would give the former displaced Party a new lustre, and effectually to the Administration recommending them, be a means of their replacing.

If this be so, some Influences are necessarily drawn from the Premises, which be very useful, and in themselves explaining to other Difficulties of like nature, *As for instance.*

1. That this is a most entire Justification to the present Ministry, in their being willing to hearken to Proposals of Peace from the Enemy; there being a Party set up at home, in themselves powerful, in their Principles desperately bent to hazard the Publick Ruin; and likely to be capable of bringing all into confusion, by tying up the hands of the Queen from pursuing the War, unless Her Majesty shall submit and stoop again to intrust her self and her Kingdoms to a Set of Men for whom she has a just aversion.

2. That seeing the Capacity of putting a negative upon the Ministry as to their Ability of carrying on the War, may be thus in the hands of any Party too much reserved; it may, by the same consequence, be in the power of the same party, to let in any Enemy upon us, and to reduce the Queen to the Necessity of submitting at last to either her Enemies abroad, or a Faction at home; and therefore it was absolutely ne-

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cessary such Party-powers be deposed; and seeing that Credit may be set up to rule the Crown, it is Prudence to put the Crown out of the necessity of depending upon Credit, that the Queen may not be made a Property to a few of her Subjects, and the Landed Interest to be bought and sold by the Usurers.

These Paradoxes being after this manner unfolded, and the Bottom of the Designs which are now on the Anvil, laid open; the Reasons why this Party among our People are so vehemently bent against Peace, are made manifest; all their Motions are judged of; and a little longer time may give greater Illuminations to the People.

To begin with the Negative part of their Management, it appeareth, *First*, That they are not Enemies to the Peace, *as such*. It is a hard Saying that some lay to the charge of the Late Managers; That they were unwilling to Peace in its General Acceptation, having Schemes of Advantages to others unknown, which were upon the Length of the War depending, and which in Treaties, Accomodations, &c. must terminate and have end: But having nothing to do with that Black Part in this place, it is omitted purposely, choosing rather the Middle Way of clear Truth; and therefore allowing that they are not Opposers of Peace, *as such*, but, as it seems, with other
Views

Views and Designs which they are now carrying on utterly inconsistent. It may be indeed inferr'd from hence, that this is a Charge of a high nature, as it implies that these People are guilty of preferring their Private Views to the General Good, and esteeming their Party Interest, above the Peace of their Country. But this must remain as it lies; whether they are Guilty, or Not Guilty, this Informant sayeth not.

2. It seemeth that they are not Enemies to the Conditions of Peace which may be concluded, or which may on a Treaty be debated: And this seemeth more plain, because they have not in opposition to the Proposals made by the Enemy, offer'd any Objection at all. But the Aim lies another way.

They are against a Peace being made NOW; and for that reason they oppose not the Conditions, but the very thing, A TREATY.

That these very Party, when in place, opened their ears to Proposals; intrusting themselves, though now to intrust others absolutely averse; that they received Plenipotentiaries, and consented to the Allies employing Deputies to confer with them; that Terms were on either Side heard, and by every Side concerted; that these Terms were digested, and at our Court sealed: These all are Testimonies to this Truth, that were the Management of a

Treaty to be entrusted, as before, in their hands, they would not think it reasonable to reject it: And however, the Enemy complying they might think it proper to act as before, and for other Ends refuse a Peace; yet the Justice of a Treaty, is in all Cases of War so evident, they would by no means refuse to treat of it.

Wherefore,

The opposing and rejecting an Offer to treat now, can only respect the Time and the Circumstances of Affairs at home (*viz.*)

That they are unwilling to treat NOW, and that for Two Reasons.

First, Because a Treaty to be now commenced, in all probability, will not fall into their Management, as it did before.

Secondly, Because if a Peace should follow, as is more than probable it may, the present Ministry, whom they hope by the Ruin of Credit to supplant, will be established.

3: Because they are weak enough to believe, as is said above, that if the War is continued, they shall, by ruining Publick Credit, so embarrass the Ministry and the Government, that the Queen shall be obliged to fly to the Old Ministry again, as the only fit Persons to retrieve the Credit, and thereby prevent our Ruin by the War. That

That these are the true Reasons why this Party oppose a Treaty ; there are very few among them, who will deny, and the Validity of these Reasons they are not backward to argue for, Justifying the Necessity of proceeding by these Measures ; wherefore, that the Injustice of this to the People of *Britain* in General, may be more Evident, it may be needful, to let them see how for Private and Party Interest the poor Commons are thus Bought and Sold, their safety and welfare to Support these Parties hazarded, their Estates at the Will and Pleasure of such People exposed and subjected ; nay their Blood to satisfy private Views spilt, at the pleasure, and to gratify the private Ends of ambitious Men, self Interested, and Byass'd by Parties ; for in Carrying on this War, neither is regard had to the Expence of Treasure, neither to the Losses and Ruin of Merchants, neither to the Lives of so many Thousand Men as unavoidably Perish every Campaign, but to the rising or falling of Parties, States Men, and Managers, for which all this Stir is made.

How Miserable is that Nation, which thus influenc'd, is toss'd to and fro by the Power of Faction, prevailing now this way, than that way, the Welfare of the Publick, the Good of the People weigh not in the Ballance, but private Views prevailing, en-
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cline things as the Parties prevailing require.

It is not altogether the Business of this Discourse, to consider and expose the Weakness of these Reasons, and how certainly such vain Hopes would, be disappointed; this appears in the very thing it self, the Nature of which, would they depend upon it, might put the Government upon Methods of finishing its Dependance upon a thing so capable to its Prejudice to be managed by the Subject. Were there no other Reason moving, no other Circumstances concurring, these would to reasonable People appear sufficient, seeing it can be grateful to no Government or Sovereign, to be told she shall not make Peace; and that yet, they will at the same time Disable her from making War. The making Peace or War, hath been in all Cases allow'd to be the Prerogative of the Crown of *England*, and is now become so of *Britain*, nor have Parliaments, till a late adress, assum'd, (intrenching so far upon the Queen to give an Opinion, which yet some are now taught to rate Superior to Law it self. But these Men going yet farther, tacitly Invade all Power, Sovereign, or Legislative, the Power of raising Money when given, restraining by rejecting Parliament Credit, and the Power of the Prerogative also, in Opposing or Limiting, as far

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as they may Her Majesty's Power of making Peace or War.

They have then no reason to wonder, that by how much they are the bolder opposing, Her Majesty should be the clearer resolving to assert her Right of giving Peace to her People, whenever she finds the Honour and Interests of her Kingdom call for it. And this seemeth to be the whole Substance of the present Debates about Peace.

There might be some Reasons drawn from the Terms of Peace, if it could be supposed these Men had Weakness enough to think that the Preliminaries so call'd, offer'd by *France*, were the Ground-plat of the Peace to be treated of; and they offer many things to smooch their Pretensions, and make their Notions Popular; as that they are less than *France*, had yielded to before; and that their Circumstances not being better, or those of the Confederates worse, it seems unreasonable to give up any thing which might before have been obtain'd: Were this True it had been more than Plausible, but the Answer to this is in its self so Distinct, in its Circumstances so grounded, and in all so Direct, that this empty Objection dies of it self, (*viz*) That the Proposals of *France* are not Preliminaries, as Preliminaries are understood to be a Plan for a Treaty, wherein being to the Foundation Confin'd, the Building cannot exceed. But they are
Proposal

Proposals only to assure the Confederates of the willingness of the Enemy to come to a Peace, and to Invite to a Treaty, where every Dispute friendly and freely being Discuss'd, a good Peace may be the happy Issue; to this no Objection is clearly pointed, they give no Arguments sufficient or well founded, to shew the People of *Britain* why a Treaty of Accomodation may not be entred upon, why Parties may not meet and every side hear one another. But in gross rejecting, refusing, and from all Treaty standing out, they seem to push at War, as if for War's sake, not considering whether Justice which is War's reason, may be without Blood obtain'd, this is taking all the Blood and Blame of War upon our selves, and because few *Christians* can justify this by their true *Christian* Principles; therefore it appeareth that so many tho' well meaning among us are Opposers of this Temper, and forward to hear what the Enemy will Offer in order to a Happy Peace.

There remains one Enquiry in the Subject of these Sheets, (*viz.*) *Why are the Confederates obstinately bent, &c.*

To this something may be necessary to observe, very briefly.

1. It is not granted that our Confederates are against a Peace, as above; nor is it granted that they are so much against

against a Peace as is reported; where it may be Noted, that those People who are against a Treaty, as is above-said, are the forwardest People in reporting that the Confederates are against it also, which as it is begging the Question to serve their purpose, so the probation is upon them,

2. That if it should so happen, that any of the Confederates are obstinate against Peace, yet perhaps other Reasons than those already Assign'd may be found out to be the Ground of their said refusing, and if those Reasons are founded upon any private Advantage by the War accruing to them, and not upon the true and general Interest of all the Allies and Confederates, they may be found to be Reasons, which we in this Nation ought not to be bound by; any more than they should be bound by our Reasons for a Peace. Separate War is no more Lawful by the present grand Alliance than separate Peace, for if that were so, then tho' *France* should offer Terms of Peace fully satisfying to all the Allies but one, and that one in the Judgment of all the rest differing not from them only, but without shewing reason, or for some private Reason and Advantage, not respecting the Good of

the Community of Allies, it should seem hard that all should be obliged, Reason, Interest, Justice, and Consent of all the rest opposing, to carry on that War.

The Emperour perhaps may be the Person of whom some have said, that it is not his Interest ever to end this War, because every Conquest is made for him, and that he has the Gain, others the Loss of this War; be that true or no; if all the Allies receive equitable Satisfaction and Security, and the Emperour has such offered him, as in the Judgment of the Allies he ought, Reason and Justice considering, to accept. But obstinately refuses to hearken to them, is not this Carrying on a separate War, and Fighting without a Reason for Fighting? All the Blood shed in which Quarrel must be Murder on their Side who have such Offers of Accommodation made to them, but are refusing.

The Emperour it is Suggested, is yet intent upon the whole Monarchy of *Spain*, expecting as they alledge, that the Confederates shall exert the same Zeal for the obtaining that Monarchy for him as they had resolved to do, had he not obtrin'd the Imperial Crown. But if the rest of the Allies shall the differing Circumstances weighing, duly, think fit a little to vary from that first Design,

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Design, this perhaps may be to the Emperor a Reason, why he is against the Peace, but it may not be of the same Weight to the Confederates to continue the War, and it would be a moot Point to resolve, by the Justice and Reason of making War, whether they could answer making or carrying on so Bloody a War, for an Article unreasonable and remote from the Occasion, for which that War was begun.

It may be thought to remain, that some answer be given to a late Pamphlet, which calls it self *An Answer*, to our former *Reasons for putting an End to this Expensive War*. But that Author, who has as much mistaken our Reasons as he has the Author of them, and having taken up most of his Time in heaping up unjust Reflections and indecent Words, supplying therewith his want of Arguments more cogent, calling us Confederates of *France*, Tools of the Ministry, Sociates of *Abel Roper*, and such like; having little Argument, less Force of Reason, less yet of Matters of Fact; it seems to any reasonable unbiass'd Reader a fully satisfying Reply, that the Reasons given why this Expensive War ought to be ended; and that Pretence of an Answer should only stand together, and be heard equally, leaving every impartial Reader to judge, making use of the native Reason Heaven hath bestow'd on him, clear'd from the Suspension and Interposition of Parties

ties and Affections, prejudg'd by private Aims and Interest.

If this be obtain'd, we doubt not those Reasons, shall yet stand Good and be Defended by their own Weight, against all that has been offered, Contradicting and Ridiculing: How can any Offence be taken at an Adversary, who denies Affirming, and affirms Denying without Form or Evidence, disputing against clear Reason. Let any reasonable Persons impartial in their Judging, Read first the Answer, thus,

The Pamphleteer it seems was to prepare you for a Peace, by the Necessities the Nation labours under, from whence he Modestly inferrs, that we must be glad of any Peace France will be pleased to grant us. Letter to a High-Church-Man. page 5. line 16, to 20.

Naturally upon reading this, the Enquirer turns to the Pamphlet to find where the Author of the *Reasons*, &c. has done thus, but finding it not, as most certainly he cannot, and the Answerer not having Quoted the Page where he found it, nothing of that kind being in the Design, and in the Book much less; it follows, he comes back with a mean Opinion of the Answerer, as he well merits,

In like manner he perverts every Clause, Insulting, and with a black Charge, Arraigning the Author of the *Reasons*, tho' it is presum'd he will not push it on to Tryal,

as traducing (his own Words) the Duke of *Marlborough*: It may be, that indeed the Author of the *Reasons* in his bringing in a brief History of the last Campaign, does not give those great Words which the Answerer expects, boasting our mighty Success, Recapitulating, and Recounting the great Prospects which we promised our selves, and encouragingly assur'd our People of; in doing this, we say it may be, he does not run out in his Panegyricks, and speak of our Generals and Campaigns, with the flattering Epethets, of Glorious, Matchless, Wonderful, &c. Complying therein to the Custom of this Age in Writing Historical Remarks; this was not the needful Part, nor can he be persuaded to call the Taking *Bouchain*, with all its glorious Circumstances, a Conquest adequat and suited to either the Expence, or Expectation of so great Preparations, and such an Army as was there employ'd.

He takes nothing from the Glory of the Generals, neither the D. of *M-----gh* or Count *Staremberg*, or Prince *Eugene*, or the D. of *Savoy*; but leaving it in general to every Eye, he inquired, and again inquires now after this manner;

If taking such a little Place as *Bouchain*, and that with so much Loss of Men, however circumstanced; if the few Inches of Ground gained by this Siege, and the Expence of this Year

Year to perform it, is called Glorious, how many such Glorious Campaigns may we expect, before the K. of *France* must be reduced to what these People talk of? And how many such Glorious Campaigns are we in a condition for, if the End is no otherwise obtained; their Boasts of our good Circumstances, however *Gasconish*, being allowed.

Passing *Flanders*, it may, we hope, be inquir'd what ground is gain'd by the Last Year's Campaign, whether in *Italy*, *Germany*, or *Catalonia*: And this without Reproach to the Generals, who we allow Consummate, Experienced, and Glorious. Count *Staremberg*, all his Recruits, Succours, and Additional Troops being arriv'd, has he advanc'd? Has he in any one progressive step gain'd any thing from the Enemy? Prince *Eugene*! What hath he acquir'd from the Enemy on the *Rhine*? What the Imperial and *Savoyard* Armies in *Piedmont* and *Dauphine*? Yet all these are own'd Glorious, Successful, and Experienced to the last degree. But in all places it is evident the War is protracted; the *French* defend themselves; their Loss of Men has not been equal to our Loss; and their Expence is restored very much by the great Mass of Treasure from the *Indies*, whereof Twenty Millions is now Expected in their Galleons, to enable them for another Year.

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These Reasons concurring to assure us that this War is not likely to come to an end, so soon as the boasting Fighters in Coffee-houses alledge; but that it may rather be carry'd on for many Years, with like Expence, Loss of Blood, and slow Success, as this Last Year, were not these Grounds moving? And are they not still supposed to be good for our considering whether we ought not, if a good Peace may be by Treaty obtain'd, to close with it, rather than lengthen out the Calamities of *Europe* upon the Hopes (vain indeed) in their Manner of proposing, as well as in the uses made of them, of reducing *France* to Necessity of surrendering it.

Why should it be an Offence to the Greatest General to say, That we cannot think the way of carrying on the War as Last Year's War has been, can answer our end; this is not against his Vigilance, Conduct, or Management. But such is the Enemy; such our Allies; such has been the Circumstances every where; more cannot be done; if it could, there is no doubt he would have done it; and he (if any Body) capable. From these Reasons it seems most just arguing, that if a good Peace can be obtained by the present Treaty, it is time, both our own circumstances, and the Enemies also, being sedately and calmly consider'd, to put an end to this Expensive War.

How

How little fair and effectual Arguing is brought against this, is left to the meanest Understanding to judge; the Answerer must make a further essay, if he thinks it needful to confute those Reasons, in doing whereof he would do well to answer a few further Queries to the rest conjoin'd, and built on the same Foundation of Reason.

1. How do you know, but on a fair Treaty, consented to by all Parties, and all Parties being disposed to make just and reasonable Demands, the King of *France* may yield to those Demands, and satisfy all the Allies?

2. If the King of *France* should do so, upon what Principle then can you be said to make War, and why should the Guilt of all that *Christian* Blood, which must be shed in pursuing such a War, lie at the door of this Branch of the Confederacy?

3. If the King of *France* refuses to give such satisfaction, what Damage, Injury, or Loss of Time, is the entring upon a Treaty to one Side more than to the other?

4. What Interruption is there a necessity of, that the entring upon such a Treaty should bring to the Preparations for the War, or to the pursuing it in the Field.

5. What can the most forward among us propose, if having that usual Success in the Field, which they are expecting; how much shall be gain'd from the Enemy in another Campaign? The carrying on the War being supposed; and then how many more such Campaigns as the last may be warranted to end the War.

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